

*Philodemus, p. 822*

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# LETTER

TO THE

GENTLEMEN, CLERGY,

FREEHOLDERS, FREE-BURGESSES,

AND OTHER

ELECTORS,

OF THE

COUNTY of NORFOLK,

ON THE SUBJECT OF A

REMONSTRANCE TO THE THRONE;

Earnestly recommended to the Perusal of every

ELECTOR of GREAT BRITAIN.

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THE SECOND EDITION.

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Venit tempus, Quirites, seriàs omnino; quàm dignum populo Romano fuit: sed tamen ita maturum, ut differri jam hora non possit. fuit aliquis fatalis casus, ut ita dicam, quem tulimus, quoquo modo ferendus fuit. nunc, si quis erit, erit voluntarius. populum Romanum servire fas non est: quem dii immortales omnibus gentibus imperare voluerunt. *res in extremum est adducta discrimen.* de LIBERTATE decernitur. aut vincatis oportet, Quirites, quod profectò & pietate vestra, & tanta concordia consequemini, aut quidvis potius, quàm serviatis. *Aliæ nationes servitutem pati possunt, populi Romani est propria LIBERTAS.*

CIC. ORAT.

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NORWICH:

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M DCC LXX.



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TO THE  
GENTLEMEN, CLERGY,  
FREEHOLDERS, FREE-BURGESSES,  
*and other*  
ELECTORS,  
of the  
COUNTY OF NORFOLK.

GENTLEMEN,

WHEN a brave and generous people, nursed as it were in the bosom of freedom, and taught from infancy to hold the possession of it dearer than life itself, find their rights and privileges invaded, their lives and properties endangered, and their liberty made the sport of arbitrary power, it is a natural inference that a strenuous opposition will be formed to stem the torrent of oppression, and bring its abettors to condign punishment. And now, that the baneful seeds of despotism, long hid from sight,

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and



and lurking lifeless in the bowels of their native north, have again reared their pernicious heads into new life, in this distracted kingdom, and, ripening into maturity under the auspices of misguided favor, again threaten her shattered remains of liberty which a total annihilation, what man who has the unpolluted blood of freedom in his veins but must be alarmed at the appearance? What Englishman is there amongst us who will not catch the sacred flame of independence, and burn with a generous indignation against the traitors to the freedom of this nation? Or who so low, so despicable, as to sit down a silent, unconcerned spectator of the general havock made in the best constitution in the world, and without emotion behold the racking pang that deprives our boasted liberty of existence?—I hope we shall not find an *Englishman*, however debased by mercenary views, or intimidated by authority, but will at length rouse all the Briton in his soul, and stand forth in the cause of his country, the cause of himself, the cause of his posterity. The luke-warm friends of freedom, a base, degenerate race, are only so from mean and sinister motives; but the stern virtue of a true-born Englishman is as invincible as his soul is immortal. He who endeavors to subvert, or even trifle with the liberty of him whose veins are yet untainted with the base blood of Scotch servility, will find



find him freely exhaust the full vessels, to the last drop, in defence of that darling, that inestimable birthright, and glory in the preference of death to slavery. If, then, there be such virtue still existing in this kingdom, (and that there is, many populous and extensive counties, cities, and towns have strongly indicated) to what may be attributed that inattention to their own welfare, that silent unconcern at what may happen to themselves or offspring, at this time demonstrated in many parts, where no application for a redress of the crying grievances this nation suffers, has been moved for, or proposed to the constituent body? Is pusillanimity, in the leading gentlemen, or real depravity the cause? Or do they imagine their own delegated power becomes infallible in the hands of their representatives?—Let us hope, neither.—'Twere unpardonable weakness to be timid where resentment to a common injury is required, but where an attack is made upon our inherent freedom, fear is guilt.—If to depraved minds the ignoble silence is to be imputed, let them who covet slavery wear the wished-for chains, but let them be selected from the lovers of independence, lest the malignancy of their nature contaminate the pure spirit of freedom glowing in the souls of others, and make new proselytes to despotism.—Or, should the latter quere be affirmed, it were as dangerous as well as irrational reliance, though

some recent determinations of the m—j—y may have been in favor of it; as they have thereby proved themselves to have a power sufficient to give infallibility to every m—l mandate, however inconsistent with the liberties of the subject, or the public good. But I could wish a negative were put to each, and that it may be found, their too great adherence to the trite maxim, that *silence is the sanctuary of prudence*, is rather the effect of inadvertence or misrepresentation, than of wilful remissness or vicious propensity.

To point out, then, the most alarming circumstances, and to exhort you to a just abhorrence of men and measures so pernicious to the freedom of this nation, I have taken the liberty to address you, Gentlemen, electors of the county of Norfolk, as a body of men not the least considerable in the kingdom, whether I consider you collectively in respect to number, or seperately as men of property. I have been induced to this from being an inhabitant of the county, and having a general knowledge of your political principles; and only wish to see, now, an exertion of that spirit which has actuated you on a former occasion, in honor of yourselves, and as a duty incumbent on you as good subjects, as Englishmen, as freemen, in defence of your violated rights. The metropolis of the kingdom has set a noble example, worthy your imitation. Let not the fate of their remonstrance dishearten you,  
or

or check the ardor of your desires to become instrumental in the redemption of your country from the hands of tyrants. To see you intimidated by the threats of unconstitutional authority, would answer every end of the political artifice. But, let me warn you, it would be another step to arbitrary power, another stab to your liberties. Men jealous of their rights, and anxious to preserve them, will not with impunity suffer them to be invaded, nor be terrified into an abject submission to the will of power. That you, Gentlemen, are men in whose breasts the sacred fire of freedom burns, some recent acts of yours have demonstrated; that you will preserve that freedom, and transmit it to posterity inviolate, let soon some future act declare. At this time your rights, as Englishmen, are invaded. At this moment your liberty is at stake. Your own acts shall determine for you, whether you will still be free, or ignobly submit to the yoke of servitude. This is the alarming crisis. To day, by boldly asserting your rights, you shall rescue from the hands of tyranny, what tomorrow may be fettered to eternity, and subservient to the will of despotism. You cannot surely give up your inheritance; a paternal blessing, acquired by the blood of your ancestors, and carefully handed down to you, to entail a curse upon your children, and, by your inattention, make your names an odium to future ages! It cannot be.

Your



Your own honor must rouse you into action, to preserve your hereditary rights, and natural affection must induce you to be anxious for those of your posterity.

That your grievances do not exist in imagination only, as the base tools of power would insinuate, permit me present to your view a recapitulation of those unwarrantable stretches of prerogative, those dangerous precedents to futurity, by which the liberties of this kingdom are threatened with a total overthrow. For should they remain uncanceled, we may put a period to freedom, and hence date the fatal revolution in our political system, on the brink of which our tottering state now stands. If illegal and unconstitutional measures be adopted, and their authors and abettors publicly supported, the desperate alternative is obvious. Judge, then, for yourselves. Facts cannot be confuted. *Magna est veritas, et prævalebit.* The quirks of lawyers, the chicane of laws, and the evasions of the most refined courtiers, are sometimes put to their shifts to veil the face of truth. The specious guise is now too thin to obscure, too transparent to conceal her radiant aspect. Let us take it off. Let us have a retrospect of things, such as they were, a view of present objects, such as they are. Let us endeavor to investigate the causes of our complaints, and trace the evil to its source, with all

all the candour the atrociousness of the circumstances will admit.

The first great cause of our unhappy dissensions, was the ill-advised appointment of the E— of B— to preside over the education of the P— of W—. *Hinc ille lachrymæ!*—What blindness could suggest, or madness support, a measure so repugnant to the principles of government, so dangerous to the welfare of the state, so alarming to the security of the house of H—r, is equally a matter of astonishment and horror! The name of Stuart still excites a noble indignation in the mind of every Englishman. Was it, then, necessary to nurse the frozen viper in our bosom? To place him in the sunshine of favor, 'till the black venom of his nature should be diluted by the warmth, the more surely to insinuate its deadly poison into every susceptible pore?—To entrust to a man of *more* than suspected principles, a descendant of an aspiring family, pretenders to the c—n, the important concern of “rearing the tender thought, and teaching “the young idea how to shoot”, in the breast of a prince, lawful heir to that same crown, and thereby give him an opportunity of infusing into his young, unthinking mind his pernicious counsels, appears too glaring an injury to the internal peace of this nation for the least discerning eye to overlook. Could any one be so infatuated as to think he

he would “ forfake his name, his country, “ and himself, and be no more a Stuart? ”— The common feelings of humanity teach us to commiserate the sufferings of the distressed, and can we suppose the nearer ties of consanguinity so far obliterated, that one Stuart should not have a sympathetic feeling and resentment for the distresses of another? Perish the thought! ’tis treason to our freedom. The foundation is laid, the dreadful fabric reared; the return of the grand architect is only waited for, to compleat —  
YOUR DESTRUCTION.

Here, Gentlemen, you see the basis of those destructive measures, which have been artfully and uniformly pursued to this time; and in which you are threatened with a wicked perseverance, whatever may be their horrid consequences. Here you see the now-haughty, over bearing thane snatched from obscurity, and placed in a sphere more elevated than it could be imagined even Scotch impudence would dare aspire to, more important than English diffidence would entertain a hope of. We are now to expect a train of consequent evils, big with terror to the welfare of this nation.

We are all sensible of the blindness of prejudice. We all know the potent force of unconquerable affection. Some, too, can tell the raging power of inordinate desire, of uncontrollable lust. But when the lascivious eye of dotage is fixed upon a favorite



tite object, we comprehend under the word *gratification*, every bad consequence that can arise from the united errors, the combined vices of them all. This was demonstrated as soon as the thane began to feel his own importance. The influence of a lewd woman, whilst it procured greatness and power to the idol of her heart, made her own son the dupe of an illicit amour, and his people the slaves of ambition. Passive obedience and non-resistance was the doctrine inculcated on the one hand, obstinacy and a dangerous perseverance on the other. His generous, easy, unsuspecting heart, under the specious argument of filial reverence and respect, was taught to pay a greater deference to the mandates of an imperious mother than to the humble entreaties of his loyal and affectionate subjects, to treat with contempt (I wish I could call it by a softer name!) the loud complaints of a justly-enraged and much-injured people, and to give the sanction of his royal name to whatever an arbitrary and despotic minister would suggest. Thus was the p——e, under the false notion of indispensable firmness, artfully made to stand alone against the united voices of a whole nation, to oppose himself to those liberties he was destined to defend, to treat the brave assertors of them with cruelty, and with his own mouth to thank those who had given a stab to the very vitals of the constitution

of his native country. Happy is it for his ———, that the purity of his real intentions is not yet suspected! Happy is it for him, that we know where to look for the source of this torrent of oppression, which bears down before it every barrier of liberty, tears up by the roots the fairest plants of freedom, reared by the tenderest care of our ancestors, and saps the foundation of those important privileges purchased by their valor, and sealed with their flowing blood. Like Envy, seated in her gloomy cavern, behold the author of this horrid scene, unconcerned and unmoved at the cries of a desponding people, and smiling at the dreadful prospect of anarchy and confusion. Calmly she sits,

“ Like Helen in the night that Troy was sack’d,

“ Spectatress of the mischiefs she had caus’d.”

Former ages have furnished us with examples of nations rich, powerful, and flourishing, falling a sacrifice to the lust of an ambitious woman. How often has the Roman empire, founded on the noblest principles, and supported with the sternest virtue, which dictated its laws to all the then-known world, and made the distant nations tremble at its frowns, been shaken to its centre by the intrigues of a dissolute woman! Rome had a Julia, whose notorious prostitutions obliged her own father to banish

banish her. She had a Messalina, too, whose unbounded licentiousness was the cause of her death by the just command of her own husband. Her end was shocking, but her vices richly deserved it; since she not only took advantage of the imbecility of Claudius to give the direction of affairs to men who were to the last degree abandoned and infamous, but sacrificed the lives and liberties of many illustrious Romans to the gratification of a cursed spirit of lust and ambition, and robbed the palace of its imperial ornaments to transfer them to the house of Caius Silius, the then object of her insatiable desires. Grant, heaven, no Messalina may be found in England, nor any woman meriting such fate!

Hence we may learn what dire disasters befall a state, subject to the will of a wicked woman! She is justly said to be

"The bane of empire, and the rot of pow'r?"

"The cause of all our mischiefs, murders, massacres!"

We have even seen the foolish levity of France sunk into melancholy, and bursting into madness, under the oppressive influence of a Pompadour; and, it is much to be feared, we may live to see the natural moderation of the English roused into violence, and opposing, with indignant zeal, the arbitrary power of an A—g—a. But if she would prevent her own, and



the ruin of the British empire, let her make the noble concession of ELIZABETH, give up her favorite to public justice, and restore the tranquillity of the nation. Let the traitor who has broken the bonds of alliance between the f——n and his people, destroyed the hereditary virtue of an amiable p——e, and drawn down upon him the reproaches of his own subjects, be dragged from his security, and made a terrible example to future villains. To see the p——e whose amiable disposition, at such an early period, endeared him to his subjects, unconscious of evil in himself, and therefore not suspecting it in others, readily submit his own judgment to the opinion of one, in whose experience he was treacherously taught to confide; to see the goodness of his intentions perverted, and his bounty lavished on wretches who disgrace the name of Englishmen, while he is wrought upon to suspect his real friends who dare to speak the truth; to see him thus cut off, as it were, from every means of rescuing himself from his alarming situation, till it be too late, who does not commiserate the misfortune of the man, who does not feel for the impendent danger of the m——h? Kings are but men, subject, like us, to passions, foibles, prejudice and caprice; no supernatural fortitude arms their souls against the snares of artful sycopliants; they are equally susceptible of love  
and

and hatred, friendship and enmity, virtue and vice, with the meanest of their subjects; but when the dawning virtues of a prince, which rendered him dear in the eyes of his people, are supplanted by the vices of a false favorite, how much is such a calamity to be lamented! How ought we to hold in detestation the destroyer of innate virtue, the cultivator of pernicious principles! But, as our only hope for a redress of this melancholy grievance must be in time, we will leave the tr——n to pursue the tr——r.

Honors heaped on honors, and every assurance that wanton fondness could suggest, had no sooner put the permanency of his power beyond a doubt, than the disposition of the thane began to manifest to the world its pernicious tendency. Honesty and integrity were now banished from the c——t; whilst a croud of needy Scotchmen, without abilities, without probity, without a virtue to recommend them, filled the principal departments in the st——te. Surrounded by his minions, a set of mercenary wretches as ever disgraced a meer form of government, the most abject tools of power, the creatures of his ambition, without an honest principle in their breasts, what wickedness might not be effected? Public honors were prostituted, the public treasures shamefully squandered away for the purposes of corruption; to compleat the whole, the honor of the nation scandalously sold, and the  
most

most glorious successes, perhaps, that ever crowned the British arms, sealed with the blood of many a brave Englishman, infamously bartered for a pecuniary consideration. Perdition seize the sacrilegious villain, who thus can make a trade of British honor, and sacrifice to sordid gain the lives of thousands!

“ ——— Is there not some chosen curse,

“ Some hidden thunder in the stores of heaven,

“ Red with uncommon wrath, to blast the man

“ Who owes his greatness to his country's ruin?”

We are now to see the eyes of the people open to their misfortunes. Yet to oppose so powerful an adversary was a dangerous undertaking. Mr. Wilkes, in that, shewed himself superior to his contemporaries. He dared to tell the traitor to his country he had imposed a falsehood on the public, and defiled the lips of his r——l master by the imposition. He foresaw the consequence, and offered himself a voluntary victim to despotism, for the good of his country. He was seized by the ruffian hand of tyranny, and committed a close prisoner to the Tower by the arbitrary and illegal mandate of an imperious secretary of state, for speaking the truth, like a good subject, like an honest man. His house was broke open, his papers seized, his most private concerns exposed to every petty rascal



cal in office, his property plundered, his most secret thoughts extorted, by a new kind of inquisition, and produced as evidences against himself. But here the laws of this kingdom were too powerful for even the FAVORITE to contend with. Mr. Wilkes obtained a verdict in a regular prosecution. Hence the person and property of an Englishman are secure from the arbitrary depredations of a wicked minister, unless the present virtuous majority of the ——— of ——— should think proper to bring in a complimentary bill for a further extension of the prerogatives of their masters, to rescind the determinations of the judges, and the antique forms of juridical verdicts, without giving them the trouble of prostituting the sanction of his ———'s name, to cover their own infamy. The attention of the people was fixed on this great cause, and every lover of freedom rejoiced at the event. But, as if the tyrants of this nation were so completely cursed in principle, as not to suffer the healing of a wound in one part, without striking at another, a new stab was given to the constitution by the same means the cure of the old one was effected. Mr. Wilkes received damages. Lord H——— paid none; but, on the contrary, has been honored with the custody of the Privy Seal. What then? — the t———y has been too long open, to encourage villainy and reward ———. Thus the good people of Eng-

land raise succours to accelerate their own ruin.

I would not here be understood to vindicate Mr. Wilkes's conduct as a *man*; to follow him where his juvenile indiscretions have given rise to the ungenerous and illiberal abuse of his enemies; or to justify every action of his convivial hours; tho' I dare say, the most virtuous of his polite persecutors can form a very conscious apology for them in their own breasts; but as an *Englishman*, he acted with a noble intrepidity, has suffered with the undaunted fortitude peculiar to a great soul, and, I doubt not, will be rewarded by his generous countrymen, with that gratitude his unshaken zeal and integrity, in the defence of their liberties, highly merit. Were the worst admitted, it were not for the virtue of the man, but the merits of the cause in which he suffered, that we esteem him. Had even the earl of S——h embarked in it, and trod the paths of virtue with his friend, he would have been entitled to our attention, would have merited our support. But *the Æthiopian cannot change his skin, nor the leopard his spots.* The intimate, the coadjutor in folly, the principal in vice, no sooner saw a dawn of virtue in his associate, than he deserted him; and, like those sneaking knaves, those most abandoned, and most cowardly of culprits, meanly sought refuge behind the regal screen, and became KING'S

EVIDENCE

EVIDENCE against the possessor of a paltry poem, of which himself was principal author and assister.

To bring this to an issue, for the purpose, solely, of persecuting the avowed opposer of tyranny, it was found necessary to perpetrate an act of villainy, 'till then unheard of. It is notorious, a servant was entreated, threatened, and, at last, bribed with the public money, to commit an atrocious robbery on his master, his patron, his benefactor, from whose generous hand he received his support. The consequence of this was, the *courtly* manner of convicting Mr. Wilkes of *publishing* an obscene poem, which, but for that authorized, scandalous theft, had never been heard of; and of imposing on him a heavy fine and long imprisonment; when, at the same time, books teeming with immorality and obscenity, offensive to modesty, and shocking to decency, are suffered with impunity to be publicly dispersed throughout the kingdom.

Mr. Wilkes submitted to the rod of power, and was put into the King's Bench prison; whence we are to prepare for a bloody transaction, the very relation of which must cause the soul of every lover of liberty to shrink back with horror.

From motives of an honest and sympathetic nature, a concourse of people, of all ranks and denominations, assembled daily before the prison; and, from the ge-



nerous sensations his sufferings had excited in their breasts, were led to express their approbation of his conduct, as the injured assertor of their rights, in the warmest effusions of grateful hearts, and minds animated with the love of liberty, and a just abhorrence of every arbitrary invader of it. At such an appearance of public spirit, a virtue so odious and alarming to tyranny, a council of the c—nsp—r—rs against the constitution was called, and that most unparalleled and shocking piece of inhumanity resolved on, which not only struck at the liberty, but the lives of the subjects; as if a total extirpation of freedom, and its assertors, was resolved on, and made the sole object of their diabolical pursuits.

Let it be granted that the people's resentment to the oppressive measures of g——t was, in this particular, inadvertent, perhaps unwarrantable; that their zeal carried them to unjustifiable lengths; it should, at the same time, be remembered, that a people born to freedom, are jealous of their liberties, anxious to preserve them, and easily take the alarm when they imagine them invaded. In such an instance, should even their fears be groundless, (which was far from being the case in the affair before us) the most lenient, and healing measures should be adopted, and every conciliating plan be put into execution, to bring them

to

to a just sense of their duty, and to pay a due deference to the authority of the laws, which is a remedy that can never be ineffectual. But here we see a croud of harmless, inoffensive people, for the heinous crimes of exclaiming *Wilkes and Liberty*, both of which are grown a nuisance to the c—t end of the Town, and throwing out some galling jests on an illiterate j——e of the p——e, cruelly butchered; and their murderers not only publicly thanked and commended, but privately rewarded; and that, too, with the public, perhaps with the same money the unhappy victims had earned by the sweat of their brow, and willingly contributed, for the honor of their king, and the welfare of the state. Even admitting that there were some of the lower class intolerably insulting, nay riotous; that there was an absolute necessity for *calling in a military power*, and for *employing it EFFECTUALLY*, does it follow, of consequence, that it was to be so effectually employed, as to make a barbarous, inhuman, indiscriminate massacre of the innocent with the guilty? and wantonly sacrifice the lives of uninterested passengers at many yards distance?—Wherefore was the military aid called in? Was it to act *offensively*, or *defensively*? If the former, the m—g—str—s did right, acted according to their orders, imbrued their hands in innocent blood, and perpetrated premeditated

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murder.

murder. If the soldiers were called in on the *defensive*, why did they not rush on the most daring and riotous, who were certainly foremost, with swords drawn, or bayonets fixed, which must inevitably have occasioned the dispersion of those who had any malignant designs, (if such there were, which I much doubt) and by that means have spared the lives of the innocent bystanders? If those arms be not useful to the soldier, as well as the firelock, but mere military appendages, why is the nation burthened with the purchase of superfluous accoutrements, or the soldier with the weight of ornamental luggage? Further, if it be allowed that this calling in of a military, to assist the civil power, was legal; that the horrid massacre (which God forbid!) was constitutional; and that the ignorant, illiterate magistrate, not knowing to do his own duty, yet having the direction, and acting as generalissimo of his majesty's soldiers against his majesty's liege subjects, was a justifiable measure; nevertheless, how are we to reconcile to the laws, either of God or man, the screening from justice, nay more, rewarding with a pension, the hardened villain, who, in a daring defiance of military authority, broke from his ranks, pursued a supposed delinquent, and in open violation of all laws, human and divine, barbarously, and in cool blood, murdered young Mr. Allen, a person



son wholly unconcerned in the affair, and innocently pursuing the private occupation of his father? Detestable and inhuman action! Doubly atrocious, in that it has entirely destroyed the peace of mind of his aged parent, hastens him to an untimely end, and is *bringing down his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave!* (Take comfort, thou good old man; if virtue still has existence in this kingdom, thou wilt have justice!

- “ ——— Arm thy soul with all its patience;  
 “ See where the corps of thy dead son approaches!  
 “ The citizens and senators ALARM'D,  
 “ Have gather'd round it, and attend it weeping.”)

This is a crime of the deepest dye. This could neither be *a misfortune to be lamented*, nor *a necessary destruction of a few of the mob, to preserve the peace*, but a cool, deliberate, inhuman murder. Here, to attribute it to the most favorable cause, I cannot but lament the melancholy and fatal consequences of entrusting in the hands of weak, ignorant men, the civil magistracy. It is an undeniable fact, that there are men in the commission of the peace, so very illiterate, as not to be able to write a common epistle grammatically, nay orthographically. Can we, then, suppose such men to have a competent knowledge of the laws of this kingdom, and, consequently, of the duties  
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of a justice of the peace? It is morally and literally impossible. The man who cannot *spell*, cannot read; he who cannot read, can never be learned in the law; he who has not a knowledge of the laws, can never be able to put them into execution; and it must be a manifest grievance to the subject, to put such a man in the commission of the peace, and thereby give him, on many occasions, a discretionary power over the lives and liberties of the people. Is this a fit object to command the respect due to a magistrate? Is this one of the most eligible men in this kingdom to preserve our domestic tranquillity?—The modest blush at his ignorance; the sensible hold him in derision and contempt, and shudder for the dreadful effects of such an ignoble prostitution and abuse of legal authority.

Let us now turn our eyes on the *chef-d'œuvre*, the grand master-piece of tyranny, which strikes at the root of the constitution itself, and which, without redress, must inevitably be the total subversion of it. Every one will easily perceive that the affair of the M——x election is meant here. This is a grievance of so capital, so complicated a nature, that the man who can acquiesce in its justification, must be in principle an abject slave, a mercenary tool of despotism, or a base traitor to his country.

Hitherto

Hitherto we have only seen arbitrary measures artfully supported under the specious pretence of *law*; we are now to behold a more dangerous wound in the constitution; a wound which penetrates into the very vitals of our liberty; and that given openly, at noon-day, in the eyes of the whole world; daringly inflicted by the hand of power, without the least cogent plea to give a color to, or any sanction but that of unwarrantable prerogative to maintain, so infamous an act.

That the election of members to serve in parliament *ought* to be free, I dare the Earl of Bute, and all his crouching dependants to deny. That that freedom has been most grossly violated, I challenge that redoubtable knight-errant, Colonel L——ll himself, to confute.

In the first instance of its v—l——n, what could not be effected by corruption or artifice, was resolved to be attempted by open violence. A desperate banditti were hired, to obtain of the county of M——x by force, what was found to be impracticable by stratagem. But as the virtue of the freeholders had nobly stood the test of corruption, unshaken, so was their courage found to be proof against the threats of tyrants, and the murderous clubs of Irish chairmen. Here, again, we see the arm of power imbrued in innocent blood. Here, too, we see the same pernicious influence  
exerted



exerted in favor of the murderers. After being legally convicted in a court of justice, and condemned to suffer death by the laws of their country, that infamous horse-jockey, the D—e of G—, in imitation of his lordly patron, the Earl of B—, erected an additional column to the temple of Despotism. He suborned an infamous set of quacks to swear, not that the man was *not dead*, but that he was *not murdered*, and consequently *died* with a malicious intention of having Balf and M' Quirk hanged. He, therefore, *raised a doubt in the royal breast*, procured their pardon, superseded, in a most arbitrary manner, the verdict of an English jury, and prostituted his m—'s sacred name, to give a sanction to a measure which every good man, at this time, holds in the utmost abhorrence. A measure at once replete with terror to the honest elector, in particular, and a general, and most scandalous encouragement to that crime, shocking to human nature—MURDER! The omniscient Creator of the world, himself ordained, for the good of society, that just requisite, of *blood for blood*; and whatever is repugnant to the injunctions of God, however coincident it may be to the inclinations of man, is a sin. But this is not the first sin the Duke of G— has committed, 'twere better for this nation it had been the last. His case is desperate, and there is but little hope of a reformation.

We are now to behold him plunged into an abyss of state iniquity, without discretion to give his arbitrary measures an air of moderation, without abilities to support their extravagance. But what good could be expected to this kingdom from a man whose utmost extent of knowledge does not exceed a calculation of the odds upon Newmarket heath, and whose ideas of the political machine and its direction are confounded with that constructed to be dragged along nineteen miles within the hour? A Newmarket gambler, a member of the jockey-club, dubbed prime minister of state! *Risum teneatis?*—What foreigner but would laugh to see THE PRIME MINISTER OF ENGLAND, stripped in his waistcoat, and riding one of his own horses for a bet *in propria persona*? Every lover of decency and decorum must despise the *man*, every lover of his country *does* despise the *minister*. Under the administration of such a man, what evils were not expected? what were not done?—His name is already enrolled in the black records of infamy; his glorious deeds are there recorded in indelible characters; and so long as the name of Britain shall have existence in the world, that of G——n shall be held in detestation. Under him the people of England have lost (I hope not irrecoverably) their fundamental privilege, the freedom of e——n. When neither gold, menaces, nor bludgeons could divert the

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freeholders

freeholders of M——x from the generous purpose of electing the man of their free choice, every nerve of government was strained to defeat their laudable intention, and wrest from them their last, their dearest right. All was ineffectual. The consequence of every expulsion was re-election. To gain the ascendant now, was a master-stroke in politics. The fatal measure was soon resolved on. A blow was to be given in the tenderest, and most susceptible part; but who would be abandoned enough, or would *dare* to be the instrument, was the grand point. The veriest tool of them all startled at the proposal. But there was a L——ll, a man without honor, without shame, without principle, without conscience, I believe, were it possible, without a soul. That man stepped forth the avowed tool of state, gloried in the contempt of a whole nation, and, as a member of the —— of ——, became a brutal parricide, and struck the mortal blow to that privilege which gave him existence. That he is universally detested is a notorious fact. His avowed opponents, every one knows, very justly abhor him; and, to my certain knowledge, he is secretly despised by his adherents, even in the W——ds——r family, tho' so nearly allied to the Earl of B——. He is, as CHURCHILL says,

“Too



- " Too infamous to have a friend,  
 " Too bad for bad men to commend,  
 " Or good to name; beneath whose weight  
 " Earth groans; who hath been spar'd by Fate  
 " Only to shew, on Mercy's plan,  
 " How far and long God bears with man ".

May he meet with his deserts, is my wish; Justice demands it, and Charity can find no palliative argument against it. The seating that wretch in p——t for the county of M——x, with a considerable minority of votes, was a most daring v—l—n of the right of election, unsupported by precedent, undefended by rational argument, and irreconcilable to the principles of our once-excellent constitution. The electors were not only robbed of the man they had fixed their hearts on, as the most eligible, in their opinion, for the support of their invaded rights, but had one obtruded on them, by an arbitrary m——ry, obnoxious to themselves, and despicable to the whole nation.

The precedent quoted, and most firmly relied on, by the advocates of the ministry, respecting the expulsion and incapacity of Mr. Wilkes, is the vote of the house of commons on their expulsion of Mr. Walpole, and declaring his incapacity, after his being re-elected by the burgesses of King's Lynn. But, unfortunately for the support of their argument, that case makes evidently against them, in every particular. Mr. Walpole

was incapacitated, not in consequence of his expulsion, but for "*having been, this session of parliament, committed a prisoner to the Tower, and expelled this house for a breach of trust in the execution of his office, and notorious corruption when a secretary at war*". These are the very words of the resolution, and contain a full confutation of the ministerial doctrine, that *expulsion creates incapacity*. Again, when Mr. Walpole was re-elected, there was another candidate (Mr. Taylor) who had votes, as well as Mr. L——ll had when Mr. Wilkes was returned, yet the house of commons voted the election void, and in positive terms declared Mr. Taylor NOT DULY ELECTED. The case of the M——x election was entirely similar in that respect, yet the present majority of the —— of —— are so notoriously devoted to the will of the m——r, that, by declaring that *he ought to have been returned*, they voted him *duly elected*; for he accordingly took his seat, notwithstanding he had but 296 votes, when Mr. Wilkes, the anti-ministerial candidate, had 1143. Thus was Mr. L——ll chosen representative for the county of M——x, not on the hustings at Brentford, by the independent freeholders, but in the —— of ——, by a corrupt majority of its m——rs. Was this quoting Mr. Walpole's case as a rule for their conduct? *Sed tempora mutantur!*

For the sake of the experiment, I will allow that favorite maxim of the ministry, that *expulsion creates incapacity*. I will, accordingly, suppose Mr. Wilkes incapable of sitting in this present parliament; notwithstanding which, the freeholders of Middlesex (that is the majority, which indisputably comprehends the sense of the whole) persist in electing him and no other. From this I shall draw a conclusion, which may, probably, in *political argumentation*, be absurd; but which, in my humble opinion, is *rationally* just. Nay, I will further exaggerate the premises in favor of the ministry. I will suppose the freeholders obstinately persevere in repeated elections of a person totally ineligible by law. What must be the consequence? Is it inevitable that the ministry shall elect one for them?—or that a wretched few of their dependants, who may happen to be freeholders of that county, shall arrogate to themselves the umpirage and direction of the whole constituent body, and elect a man in direct opposition to their will? I positively deny the legality of such unconstitutional doctrine. If a man be sick and will not take such medicines as will effect his cure, who shall be justified in forcing them down his throat, tho' his own hand should be made involuntarily to tender them to his mouth? If the people of England have an unalienable right of representation, who can suffer by a non-representation



tion but the non-represented? And if the Middlesex freeholders insist on the admission of a person inadmissible by law, and blindly persist in a thing incompatible with the principles of government, who but themselves can possibly be injured by it? And who can justify an interference in so tender an affair?—But this happens not to be the case with the county of Middlesex. Mr. Wilkes is neither ineligible by the laws of the land, nor the known custom of p——t. His inc——ty was a measure repugnant to both; where one branch of the l——s——re assumed to itself a power, which only belongs to the three collectively; and was consequently an unwarrantable and dangerous stretch of prerogative, which ought not to remain unatoned for. It is an injury to the freedom of this nation which must not be suffered with impunity. Rouze, then, Gentlemen, from that ignoble supineness and inattention, in which you seem to be lost at present, and shew the base invaders of your rights *you dare be free*. Assert your privileges, if you would preserve them, or tamely kneel at the feet of your tyrants and surrender them at discretion. This is the inevitable alternative; and according to this will be the determination of your fate. You now see the same destructive measures pursued, the same tyrannic men supported. The virtuous D——e of G——n has not retired from the stage. He has only played his part, and is regaling himself

himself in the green room, at C——n house, where he forms a part of the r-g-ncy, during the absence of his high and mighty, great and majestic lord, who is now culling the sweets of the continent, in order to present us, on his return, with a compleat tragedy on the illustrious stage of tyranny. Every day presents us with some new, unthought-of grievance. Every day brings us to a nearer and more distinct view of that horrid gulph, our virtuous ancestors so carefully avoided. Consider, Gentlemen, you are now upon the verge of destruction, and one more misguided step may plunge you into the dreadful abyss. Liberty is grown so very detestable in the eyes of your tyrants, that none can plead its cause with safety; what, then, can you expect but a total extermination of it?

You have had a melancholy example of the violation of the freedom of election, you may now see an attempt upon the freedom of debate. The only j——e dependent on the pleasure of the crown, whose uprightness of heart has endeared him to all who only know his name, and whose honesty and integrity did honor to the lofty station he filled, has been shamefully dismissed, for giving his opinion in p——t according to the dictates of his conscience, and supporting the liberty of the subject. *O tempora! O mores!* This is indeed to rule with a rod of iron. The nation feels its weight, and cannot

cannot long support the agonizing burthen. Maugre the moderation of the philosopher, or the dull sophistry of the moralist, nature oppressed will make its way thro' every obstacle. Tyranny and blood-shed cry loudly for redress, or vengeance. The groans of expiring liberty appeal to heaven for justice, and that's the last appeal. If the ear of compassion, here on earth, shall continue deaf to the supplications of an injured people, let us, for once, join in the exclamation of the *upright* Lord Mansfield: FIAT JUSTITIA, RUAT COELUM! There are but two resources left you for redress. The first is now carrying into execution, in many parts of the kingdom; may heaven prevent a necessity for the last! Assist, then, Gentlemen, in the glorious undertaking; and let not

“ The mistress of the world, the seat of empire,  
 “ The nurse of heroes, the delight of gods,  
 “ That humbled the proud tyrants of the earth,  
 “ And set the nations free,

wear the base chains of an imperious Scot!  
 Our gracious f——n is deluded by sycophants, and deceived by false representations. Let your complaints be reiterated in his royal ear, 'till your numbers shall give the lye to those artful courtiers, who represent you as a *factious few*, and 'till your notorious grievances shall make the innate goodness of  
 of



of his soul rise superior to prejudice, and grant you your just requests. The paternal love of a good prince for his subjects will ever gain an ascendancy over his filial affection, where that affection clashes with the interests of his people; and shall we suppose that our amiable m——ch, once divested of the unhappy principles of his education, will be regardless of the welfare of his subjects, or treat their united voices with neglect? It cannot be. Though his inflexibility may be liable to censure, his youth and inexperience will in some measure apologize for it; and, considering the dangerous precepts he has imbibed, his unfortunate prejudices demand our pity rather than our resentment. Time will correct the latter, and the removal of his evil c——ll-rs will most certainly relax the former. Their pernicious councils are the cause of your present grievances; they, in some future hour, may be the cause of your destruction. It is not sufficient that they tread upon your liberties in the most daring manner, they even make the —— a tool to their ambition, and impose on you the dictates of their own malignant hearts, for the pure sentiments of his r——l breast. It was a wise and rational maxim that the merits of the ministry should be attributed to the prince, and the demerits to the minister. It was a salutary doctrine, and tended to preserve the monarch from the reproaches and insults of the populace, where he has the

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greatest

greatest title to reverence and esteem. But the present m——y have as little regard for the reputation of the p——e, as they have for the liberties of the people. Both are subservient to their own base purposes, both are trifled with to accomplish their own wicked designs. Hence would I exculpate his ——, if the most palpable treason to the constitution were to be the answer to the next r——e. It is well known that the ——'s speech is no more than that of the m——r; and, of course, the answer to every p——n or r——e, complaining of the conduct of the m——y, will be that of the accused, assuring their accusers that the accusation is highly *disrespectful to them, injurious to their creatures, and irreconcilable to the principles of despotism.* Therefore, seek not so much a verbal, as an effective answer. Let the chief object of your remonstrance be a d——n of p——t, which is a power wisely invested in his m——y, who alone may be willing to restore the tranquillity of the nation, by an acquiescence in your request. The thrifty seeds of corruption once rooted out of that sacred soil, it will be your own fault if they be again suffered to pollute it; and, you may be assured, 'till that be accomplished your grievances will never be effectually redressed. A corrupt —— of —— will ever be subservient to the will of the m——r; and, consequently, every thing that is brought

brought before them will be determined in favor of their lord. The reception of the r——e of the city of London will serve to elucidate this point sufficiently.

The city impeaches the m——y of misconduct, and begs their dismissal, and a d——n of p——t, the majority of which being too corrupt to be suffered to remain any longer, with safety to the interest of the nation, and only wait the nod of their leader to determine resolutions of the utmost importance to the liberty of the subject. The m——y return for answer, that the requesting their dismissal is *disrespectful to them*, and that the d——n of their slaves might be *injurious to THEM*; as, by the Duke of G——n's calculation, it would be 1143 to 296 whether they ever came there again, might occasion to them the loss of many a snug place, and might deprive them of that delightful and *real sensation* attendant on the execution of a ministerial job. They then step into their respective *seats*, and move THEMSELVES, for an humble address to be presented TO THEMSELVES, that they would be graciously pleased to lay before THEMSELVES the heavy charge against THEMSELVES, in order to draw the veil of authority over their conduct. They carry their own point, by a majority, as usual, walk up into their *places*, receive *their own* address, and grant *their own request*. They then, with great formality, go down again,



take into consideration the said charge, with their own answer to it. They *resolve*, that the former is tending to alienate the minds of his m——'s subjects from *their* government, and that the latter shall have the thanks of themselves. Immediately they draw up another address TO THEMSELVES, wherein they think themselves *indispensibly obliged*, upon this occasion, to express TO THEMSELVES the extreme CONCERN AND INDIGNATION which they feel at finding that an application has been made to themselves, in terms so little corresponding with that grateful and abject servility which they are so justly intitled to from all their venal dependants; at the same time aspersing and calumniating a corrupt branch of the l——e, and expressly denying the legality of the present abandoned m-j——y in the —— of ——, and the validity of their proceedings. And as they are duly sensible of the value and importance of ADDRESSING, it is with the deepest concern that they now see the PURPORT of it so grossly perverted, by converting it into p——ns and r——ces, and applying it to the purpose, not of preserving, but of overturning despotism; and of propagating doctrines, which, if generally adopted, must be fatal to the tyranny of the m——y, and which tend to the subversion of all unlawful authority. They also beg leave to return TO THEMSELVES their unfeigned thanks for the fresh proof they have now given THEMSELVES of their determination

tion to persevere in their adherence to the principles of tyranny.

They are therefore fully persuaded that their dependants in general, as well as their creatures in p——t, will reject with disdain every spirited suggestion of those well-designing men, who are in reality undermining the arbitrary structure they (the m——y) have been at great pains in raising, under the avowed pretence of zeal for their liberties; and that their attention to maintain the power they have acquired inviolated, which they esteem their chief glory, will upon every occasion prove the sure means of strength to themselves, and secure to themselves that infamous and effectual support, which none but a people dead to independence can shew.

After resuming their places, they receive, with great pomp and solemnity, the address, to which they return this most gracious answer.

#### OUR NOBLE SELVES,

*We return ourselves thanks for this very loyal and dutiful address. It is with great satisfaction that we receive from ourselves so grateful an acknowledgment of our tender regard for the interest of our creatures. Be we assured, that we shall continue to adhere to the true principles of our arbitrary power; from which we cannot deviate, without justly forfeiting the support of an abandoned set of people.*

*This,*

This, Gentlemen, will convey to you an idea of the proceedings respecting the City       —e; and, tho' it may excite risibility in the perusal, it cannot fail to leave a deep and serious impression on the mind of every thinking man; as he may hence judge of the real methods of procuring a sanction to every measure of an arbitrary m—y, with a corrupt majority in the       — of       — at their command.

Remonstrate, then, Gentlemen, in defence of your invaded rights, but let the d—n of that prostituted branch of the l—e be your principal aim; and direct your supplications for redress where there is ability to grant, and where you have a right to expect it. You may easily judge of the importance of that measure, by the anxiety of the       — of       — to suppress any future remonstrances, and the pains that have been taken to intimidate the electors to give, at least, a tacit approbation of the validity of their proceedings: but no honest member, conscious of the integrity of his conduct, and of acting on principles consistent with the public welfare, can wish to oppose a measure so easy in the acquiescence, and which promises to have so salutary an effect on our present unhappy dissensions; since he will only have to return to his constituents, be re-elected, and sit with more ingenuous colleagues. If there be men of corrupt principles in the       —, whose conduct will



will not stand the test of another election, they will violently oppose every attempt to accomplish that necessary purpose, and by that means shew you the greater urgency there is for their d——n.

Lose no time, I conjure you, Gentlemen, to endeavor to bring about the wished-for event. Liberty, like honor, once lost, is irrecoverable. Preserve it whilst it is in your possession, for the time may not be far distant when, by grasping at the shadow, you shall dearly feel the value of the substance lost. Remember, ere it be too late, that you are Englishmen: BE LOYAL, but BE FREE. There is a duty incumbent on us all, as subjects; there is another debt we owe to posterity, as the inheritors of freedom. To discharge that great, important debt with honor and with justice, permit me earnestly to exhort you in the words of Cato;

“ Remember, O my friends, the laws, the rights,  
 “ The gen’rous plan of pow’r deliver’d down,  
 “ From age to age, by your renown’d fore-fathers,  
 “ (So dearly bought, the price of so much blood.)  
 “ O let it never perish in *your* hands!  
 “ But piously transmit it to your children.  
 “ Do thou, great LIBERTY, inspire our souls,  
 “ And make our lives in thy possession happy,  
 “ Or our deaths glorious in thy just defence.”